RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT

MAY 1990 VOLUME I, NUMBER 2

Why Paleo?

I: The Modal Libertarian

In the January 1990 issue of *Liberty*, Lew Rockwell published an article, "The Case for Paleo-libertarianism," that set the libertarian world on its ear. It was the single most talked-about and controversial article in the history of that magazine, and indeed in many years in the libertarian movement.

The reason is simple: the libertarian world has been sunk, for years now, into torpor at best and advancing decay at worst. It has been marked by a lack of new ideas, of new thoughts or strategies. In the last decade, libertarian ideas have been advancing and permeating throughout the world, but apart from the specialized area of free-market economics, libertarian institutions have been steadily crumbling and falling into total irrelevance in American culture. Instead of meeting the challenge of chronic deterioration and decay, movement leaders have huddled around, hunkered down, and desperately stepped up their host of scams and bunco schemes, precisely like leeches accelerating their vampirism as their host's blood gets ever thinner and less nourishing.

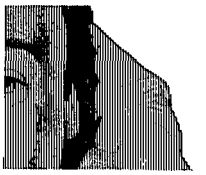
The Modal Libertarian is a moocher, a bunco artist, and often an outright crook.

1989, the year of the glorious revolutionary implosion of communism/socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, has presented us with a totally new world, with new parameters for action. All other ideological groups, conservatives, liberals, and leftists, have, with varying success, understood the necessity of meeting the new reality by rethinking their focus and their strategies. Only libertarians have, as usual, acted as if the real world does not exist, and continued heedlessly to play their bunco games.

Amidst this pervasive miasma, Lew's article came as a spark of excitement, a trumpet call announcing that there are big changes in the real world, folks, and that it's high time we wake up and do some hard thinking about what it all means. For all libertarians not yet brain dead, Lew's article heralded a new dawn of purposive activity and creative thinking.

Unfortunately, such is the parlous state to which the movement has sunk that almost none of this

(Cont. next page, col. 3)



THE EAR

Neocon Virginia Postrel, editor of *Reason*, is in deep doo-doo. To attack the flourishing paleo alliance, she wrote "The Ideological Shuffle" for *The Washington Post*. In it, besides praising statists Jack Kemp and Newt Gingrich and smearing the anti-statist Rockford Institute, she repeated a lie: that Rockford had hosted a party for eco-wacko Jeremy Rifkin. *The Post* had to run a red-faced correction.

*****

What's happened to the Libertarian Party? LP leaders aren't talking, but there's been a precipitous decline in paid membership. There were, after the Ron Paul campaign, 9,000 national LPers, but virtually no one is renewing. Membership is said to be 7,500 and sinking.

*****

Karl Hess, hippie editor of the *Libertarian Party News*, has resigned to write his autobiography. Karl wants his even-hippier business partner, the pony-tailed Randy Langhenry, to succeed him, but Randy is even less libertarian than Karl, and he can't write. Can Karl foist Randy on the LP? Stay tuned.

* * * * *

MeMe King—ballot-access wiz and the only capable person on the LP's national staff—has

(Cont. next page,col. 1)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(THE EAR cont. from P.1)

left for greener pastures (which wouldn't be hard). She's now working for Howie Rich (of Laissez- Faire Books), who's set up a company to assist tax-rebellion ballot measures. Great idea, and great hire.

*****

Former LP NatCom'r Alan Lindsay has left the party over an LP fundraising letter about the death of a young soldier in Panama. The soldier's parents and fiance have denounced the LP leadership as "vultures," and Alan agrees.

So LP bigwig (and public schoolteacher) Don Ernsberger writes Alan a hate letter full of grammatical and spelling errors, MUCH OF IT TYPED IN UPPER CASE. Don is a one-man argument for private education.

There's been national publicity, and there may be a lawsuit. And Ear hears that buddies from the soldier's former battalion will visit the LP personally. No wonder Chairman Dave Walter, as one newspaper noted, "would give his address only as eastern PA."

*****

As California goes, so goes the nation, at least for the LP. California has more votes, members, and contributors than most other states put together. Without California, the LP is dead, and without ballot access, the California LP is dead. They can't afford to collect the zillions of necessary signatures, so they put their hopes on the state treasurer's race, where last time they beat the 2% barrier. But nominee George O'Brien of San Francisco *forgot* to file. Absent a miracle, California won't be on the ballot, and Marrou will be lucky to get 100,000 votes in the rest of the country.

Most of us have left the LP in body, and all of us in spirit.

*****

The paradigmatic Washington State LP is in an uproar over allegations of grand theft involving the '87 Seattle convention. Judicial commission head Mike Dunn lays out the charges in a 100+-page report. State chairwoman Marla Bottemiller has resigned. They're running around like pidgeons with their heads cut off. In other words, business as usual.

****

California LPer Dick Boddie is a man with, as the first R says, "no visible means of support." During the '84 Bergland for President campaign, Dick—one of the few blacks in the LP—was a full-time fundraiser. A typical Libertarian, he *cost the campaign more than he raised.* Now Dick says he may run for prez in '92, although he'd accept the veep slot under Andre Marrou. What a team!

- S.B.

(WHY PALEO cont. from P.1)

excitement was reflected in the many tedious and uncomprehending comments on the article in *Liberty*: almost all of which were nothing so much as the irritable responses of bears being disturbed from their lengthy slumbers. Indeed, the only intelligent and thoughtful critique of the Rockwell article appeared not in *Liberty* but by Justin Raimondo in the March issue of the *Libertarian Republican Organizer.*

So why paleo? As one of Lew's critics put it, why do we need *another* long word to tack on to the first one (libertarianism)? The standard critical summary of the paleo position is that we are setting out to "expel" all non-paleos (variously defined as all non-bourgeois and/or non-religious) from the libertarian movement. This is an absurd characterization of our position, and seems to reflect a severe reading (or thinking) disability.

In the first place, aside from the Libertarian Party, there is no membership-type organization in the movement from which we could expel anyone. And as for the LP, most of us have left it in body and all of us in spirit. And secondly, how can a small minority (paleos) "expel" a vast majority?

Separating Out

So the point has been severely missed. The point of the new paleo movement, including the designation, is to separate ourselves out of the broader movement, to find and inspire other paleos, and to form our own separate and self-conscious movement.

(Cont. P. 3, col. 1)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(WHY PALEO, Cont. from P.2,

We are saying, in short, that liberty is great and we don't wish to weaken or dilute it by one iota, but that for us, at long last, it's simply not enough. We are still hard-core libertarians, but we now are not willing to settle, as a movement, for liberty alone. We insist upon *liberty plus*.

We have said that a certain cultural matrix is essential to liberty. I can understand why libertarians might be edgy at this sort of formulation; for example, the Oxford political theorist John Gray has, in recent year, marked his defection from classical liberalism (already a watered-down form of libertarianism) by talking about the need for a certain culture in addition to liberty: this sort of talk is almost always the prelude to a call for State power—certainly in Gray's case.

But that is *not* the point, although I agree that liberty will tend to flourish most in a bourgeois, Christian culture. I am willing to concede that you can indeed be a good, hard-core libertarian and still be a hippie, an aggressive anti-bourgeois and anti-Christian, a drug addict, a moocher, a rude and intolerable fellow, and even an outright thief.

But the point is that we paleos are no longer willing to be movement colleagues with these sorts of people. For two separate and powerful reasons, *each* of which would be good enough reason to form a separate and distinct paleo movement. One is strategic: that these sorts of people tend, for obvious reasons, to turn off, indeed to repel, most "real people," people who either work for a living or meet a payroll, middle class or working class people who, in the grand old phrase, enjoy "visible means of support."

In the Libertarian Party, the prevalence of these sorts of people has kept the membership and the votes low and even declining. But also in the broader movement, these *luftmensch*-types have almost succeeded in making the glorious word "libertarian" a stench in everyone's nostrils, synonymous with nut or libertine. At this stage, the only way to save the glorious word and the concept of "libertarian" is to affix the word "paleo" to it, and thereby make the distinction and separation crystal clear.

Liberty isn't enough.

But our reasons are not only strategic. For among the people repelled are we ourselves, and although obviously we have a high tolerance level, it has at last been exceeded, and it is with a sense of joyous relief that we scrape the detritus of the standard, or "modal," libertarian from the soles of our shoes.

When, in the *Libertarian Forum*, I used to fulminate against the "unreal people" and the crazies, later dubbing them *luftmenschen*, I was treated as either a lovable or an odious crank, but the point is that these cultural positions were not taken as in any way relevant to my libertarian doctrine. They *are* relevant, though on a different plane, than the doctrine itself. But the point is that it can no longer be acceptable to neglect the "paleo" part of the equation.

But if we are the "paleos," who are the *other* guys? Since the terms are on a different plane of discourse, the simple word "libertarian" cannot suffice. I have therefore dubbed the other guys, our opposition so to speak, as the "nihilo-libertarians" or "nihilos," with the remainder of libertarians, perhaps in the majority, confused in-betweeners who are not yet aware of any such distinctions. Many of these are instinctive paleos without being aware of it.

There is no way of knowing the precise numbers, but after almost forty-five years as an activist in the libertarian movement, I am certain of one thing: that the nihilos, whether or not a numerical majority, *are* unfortunately the typical, or "modal" libertarians. [The "mode" is a concept in statistics designating that class or category which has the highest frequency of members.]

Lew Rockwell and myself have been severely critical of the Libertarian Party, especially since the debacle at the Philadelphia national convention in September of last year. But while the Libertarian Party is indeed irredeemable and has in fact not yet been subject to *enough* of an expose, the Party is not the sole problem. For the Party is simply the most visible, and most organized, institution of the movement. The sickness of the Party is only the visible reflection of the underlying rot of the movement as a whole.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That is why Lew and I are not calling for a new Libertarian Party or for an immediate replacement as a substitute mass institution for the movement. The disease cuts far deeper, and so the solution must be far more radical, and unfortunately must take longer than another quick fix. The first step is to separate out, and to form our own paleo-libertarian organs and institutions, beginning, of course, with *RRR* itself.

Portrait of the Modal Libertarian

It is easiest to begin our definition of "paleo" by explaining what we are *not*, what we are determined to get away from. And the easiest way to explain that is to limn our portrait of the Modal Libertarian, his nature and his attitudes.

And the Modal Libertarian (henceforth ML) is indeed a *he*, because the movement has always, of course, been overwhelmingly male. And unfortunately, the few female libertarian activists suffer from much the same syndrome as the males.

The ML was in his twenties twenty years ago, and is now in his forties. That is neither as banal, nor as benign as it sounds, because it means that the movement has not really grown in twenty years; the same dreary people have merely gotten twenty years older. The ML is fairly bright, and fairly well steeped in libertarian theory. But he knows nothing and cares less about history, culture, the context of reality or world affairs. His only reading or cultural knowledge is science fiction, on which the ML is an expert, and which manages to keep him very nicely insulated from reality. As a result, the average rank-and-file member of the most ineffectual Trotskyite sect knows far more about world affairs than all but a tiny handful of libertarian leaders.

The ML does not, unfortunately, hate the State because he sees it as the unique social instrument of organized aggression against person and property. Instead, the ML is an adolescent rebel against everyone around him: first, against his parents, second against his family, third against his neighbors, and finally against society itself. He is especially opposed to institutions of social and cultural authority: in particular against the bourgeoisie from whom he stemmed, against bourgeois norms and conventions, and against such institutions of social authority as churches. To the ML, then, the State is not a unique problem; it is only the most visible and odious of many hated bourgeois institutions: hence the zest with which the ML sports the button, "Question Authority."

Any kind of kooky cultural cause is encouraged to tweak the noses of the hated bourgeoisie.

And hence, too, the fanatical hostility of the ML toward Christianity. I used to think that this militant atheism was merely a function of the Randianism out of which most modern libertarians emerged two decades ago. But atheism is not the key, for let someone in a libertarian gathering announce that he or she is a witch or a worshiper of crystal-power or some other New Age hokum, and that person will be treated with great tolerance and respect. It is only Christians that are subject to abuse, and clearly the reason for this difference in treatment has nothing to do with atheism. But it has everything to do with rejecting and spurning bourgeois American culture; any kind of kooky cultural cause will be encouraged in order to tweak the noses of the hated bourgeoisie.

In point of fact, the original attraction of the ML to Randianism was part and parcel of his adolescent rebellion: what better way to rationalize and systematize rejection of one's parents, family, and neighbors than to join a cult which denounces religion and which trumpets the absolute superiority of yourself and your cult leaders, as contrasted to the robotic "second-handers" who supposedly people the bourgeois world? A cult, furthermore, which calls upon you to spurn your parents, family, and bourgeois associates, and to cultivate the alleged greatness of your own individual ego (suitably guided, of course, by Randian leadership).

There is a certain raffish charm to adolescent rebels at twenty; at forty however, the same attitudes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and outlook become odious. The charm has gone. Lew Rockwell's critics conveniently leap to the assumption that what he and I have been attacking is noticeably "hippie" hair, manners, and clothing. But this is a highly superficial view. The only good thing about hippiedom is that it makes the modal nihilos easy to spot. But even those MLs who *look* like real people, who wear suits and ties, really aren't. The important point is the personality, the attitudes.

In short: the ML, if he has a real world occupation, such as accountant or lawyer, is generally a lawyer without a practice, an accountant without a job. The ML's modal occupation is computer programmer; the ML was a computer nerd long before the invention of the personal computer. Computers appeal indeed to the ML's scientific and theoretical bent; but they also appeal to his aggravated nomadism, to his need not to have a regular payroll or regular abode. Furthermore, it is easy to call yourself a "computer consultant" when what you *really* are is unemployed.

The ML also has the thousand-mile stare of the fanatic. He is apt to buttonhole you at the first opportunity and to go on at great length about his own particular "great discovery" or about his mighty manuscript which is crying out for publication if only it hadn't been suppressed by the Powers That Be. He is, like all fanatics, totally humorless; his idea of high wit is someone being on the receiving end of a hotfoot.

The ML's idea of high wit is someone being on the receiving end of a hotfoot.

But above all, the ML is a moocher, a bunco artist, and often an outright crook. His basic attitude toward other libertarians is "Your house is my house." How many libertarians in the rare privileged position of living in an apartment or house have not had the pleasure of hearing their doorbell ring, and being confronted with some guy on the doorstep who says, in effect; "Hey man, I'm a *libertarian*," and expects to be put up for the night, the week, or whatever? How many libertarians have had to chuck such people out into the cold? Libertarians, in short, whether they articulate this "philosophy" or not, are libertarian-communists: anyone with property is automatically expected to "share" it with the other members of his extended libertarian "family."

We paleo libertarians are people who are finally saying, "*Basta*!" "Enough!" We have had it up to here and we're not taking any more. As I will point out in a future installment, the glorious events of 1989 have ended the Cold War and have made an alliance with "paleo-conservatives," a reconstitution of the Old Right, possible and feasible. But our accelerating disgust with our libertarian movement comrades is a separate phenomenon, although it dovetails neatly with our new movement and has given us the word "paleo."

Years ago, when I was lamenting to an old friend about the crazies in the libertarian movement, he counselled: "Let's face it. In a kooky movement, you're going to get a lot of kooks." True, but our ideas are not that kooky.

While all movements are imperfect vessels for their pure ideas, the marvelous libertarian doctrine by no stretch of the imagination deserves this. Once my old friend Ralph Raico, commenting on some movement atrocity or other, took his cue from the wonderful line in the movie *The Godfather*, when Lee Strasberg, as the Meyer Lansky-type, was delivering Old World homilies to Corleone: "When Moe was killed (by the Corleones) did I say anything? Did I ask questions? No, because I said to myself: This is the business we have chosen." Ralph paraphrased this into "This is the movement we have chosen."

Okay. That worked as a consolation of sorts for years. But we paleos have had it. We're opting out. We're *un*choosing the movement We're forming a new movement of ur own: paleo-libertarianism. *N.B.*: This is the first of multipart article.) **-M.N.R.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Postrel and "Dynamism"

In this issue, Sarah Barton exposes the mendacious smear leveled against Rockford Institute and *Chronicles* by *Reason* editor Virginia Postrel in the April 1 issue of the *Washington Post* Sunday "Outlook". Her smear was a desperate attempt to link these distinguished paleoconservatives with environmentalism, a fraudulent and profoundly anti-human movement that no one can oppose more strongly than Lew Rockwell or myself.

But Postrel's thesis deserves a more detailed examination. Seeing the breakup of older coalitions, she identifies only two antagonistic groupings alongside one fault line: "dynamism" (good) vs. "stasis" (bad). If the environmentalists are the reactionary anti-growth statics, *who* are the dynamic types, the Good Guys whom she vaguely identifies with "classical liberals"? They first appeared, it seems, during the same decade of the 1970s that saw the emergence of the Bad Guys— like Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown —who proceeded to take over the Democratic Party. The dynamic Good Guys persuaded the Republican Party to "drop its tradition of cautious naysaying" and to embrace "dynamism as a fundamental principle." The Good Guys turn out to be, in particular, Jack Kemp, Newt Gingrich and fellow supply-siders (*read* neocons), who have never seen a Welfare or Warfare State spending program that they haven't loved. In short, precisely the "Big Government Conservatives" recently heralded by *The New Republic's* Fred Barnes, one of their very own.

You see, Virginia, there's dynamism and there's dynamism.

But wait a minute! Precisely to *what* were those crabby pre-Kemp Old Republicans cautiously naysaying? Postrel, her ideological world-outlook (like all neocons) beginning in the 1970s, doesn't say. Actually, they were saying all-too cautious nays to the Great Leap Forward to the Leviathan State engineered by the New Deal, the Fair Deal, and World War II. For, if we jiggle our historical memories and consider what the Democratic Party was doing before being captured by static types like Brown and Carter, they were foisting upon us the all-too dynamic collectivism of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "let's get America moving again" Camelot of that randy Yankee Prince, Jack Kennedy.

You see, Virginia, there's dynamism and there's dynamism: there's a whale of a difference between the dynamism of free-market capitalism and the dynamism of State-rulers like FDR and Jack Kennedy. And come to think of it, surely no one was more satisfactorily "dynamic" and got his country moving again faster than Adolf Hitler. Moreover, knowing this difference is precisely what your much-vaunted "classical liberalism" was all about. Classical liberals were bold nay-sayers to the very State dynamists you seem to extol. And yet in your discussion of ideological groups there is not one mention of the crucial problem of *government* (except to sneer at Rockford for offering a "dollop of limited government rhetoric.")

The *really* Great Divide, of our time or of any time, is not static vs. dynamic, but precisely on the issue that Postrel evades: liberty vs. statism. And one astounding fact makes it all too clear where Postrel stands on this crucial issue, and it's not with classical liberalism: Her having the effrontery to list the socialist hustler Jesse Jackson as one of her "dynamic" heroes. Enough said.

- M.N.R.

"Dr." King

Martin Luther King was not only a socialist satyr with a long and close relationship with the Communist Party, he was apparently also a phony.

I've long wondered why King is the only person to keep his doctorate in death. We don't hear about Dr. Einstein. But we do hear—incessantly—about Dr. King. But maybe, at long last, the Dr. will have to be dropped.

The top conservative newspaper in Britain, the London *Telegraph*, reports evidence that King plagiarized his PhD thesis from a fellow left-wing student. Although unmentioned, my guess is that it would have been done under Communist Party discipline, since King was singled out early for grooming by the Reds.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When the *Telegraph* phoned Professor Ralph Luker, one of the editors of the forthcoming King papers at Emory University, and asked him if King was a plagiarist, Luker was evasive: "I have no way of responding to that." When asked if the plagiarism would be suppressed, Luker said: "Our reputations as historians are on the line. I think you can draw the conclusion from that."

No wonder Luker is so circumspect. The person who reports this to the mainstream U.S. press will get in as much trouble as the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, who simply confirmed long-known facts about King's sexual proclivities. (Note: Abernathy has had his own troubles. One famous incident took place in Montgomery, Alabama, when the cuckholded husband of an Abernathy parishioner chased him down the street with a hatchet.)

Conservatives and libertarians in Arizona succeeded in putting a repeal of the King holiday on the ballot this fall. If they win, we will endure the horror and indignation of the Establishment, with a possible cancellation of the Super Bowl now scheduled for Phoenix.

If the holiday isn't repealed, let's hope no Arizonan celebrates it the way King did his last day on earth: by going to bed with two women and beating up a third.

- L.H.R., Jr.

I Hate Earth Day

It tells us all we need to know about the federal government that on Earth Day it sponsored a "trashion show" of clothes made from garbage. Taxpayers also paid for picnics, posters, videos, press releases, speeches, and coloring books, plus an enormous propaganda parade.

Such are the times that Marxists like Alexander Cockburn who used to prate about poor people now decry their cutting down the Amazonian rain forests to farm and ranch. Apparently, Brazilian peasants are supposed to live in indentured mildewtude so no tree is touched.

Earth Day is, of course, only a sign of a much larger trend. All over Europe and the U.S., leftists are joining the environmental movement. And no wonder: environmentalism is another coercive utopianism—as impossible to achieve as socialism, and just as destructive in the attempt.

Environmentalism harks back to a godless, manless, and mindless Garden of Eden.

But Marxism at least professed concern for human beings; environmentalism harks back to a godless, manless, and mindless Garden of Eden.

The natural order is "unfallen and undepraved," environmentalist John Muir wrote more than a century ago, whereas man is the "blighting touch." Therefore, said the human-hating Muir, alligators and other predators should be "blessed now and then with a mouthful of terror-stricken man by way of a dainty."

Every "man-made phenomenon" is evil, says William McKibben, author of the bestselling *End of Nature*. Capitalism is not what "Nature intended."

That's why the fast-growing EarthFirst! organization champions "ecodefense" such as spiking trees (which maims loggers), sabotaging road-building machinery, and wrecking rural airstrips. Since it wants to cut the world's population by 90%, it has even praised AIDS.

Now George Bush—the "Environment President"—wants to elevate the EPA into an even bigger satrap of the spendocracy as the Department of Environmental Affairs. He has also proposed a $2 billion program to plant saplings, none of them members of Congress, and endorsed mileage regulations that dictate lighter and therefore more dangerous automobiles.

All other things being equal, the heavier the car, the safer it is in a crash. Present regulations have caused an estimated 50,000 deaths in D.C.-mandated kiddie vehicles. But the environmentalists don't care. They want us to ride in public cattle-cars.

And on Earth Day—celebrated not coincidentally on April 22nd, Lenin's birthday—we were supposed to bow down before Mother Nature while the federal government picks our pockets.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When it comes to the earth religion, mark me down as an atheist. Chicken or chicory, elephant or endive, the natural order was created to serve human needs and purposes, and it must be judged in that light. The environment has no independent moral standing.

On Earth Day, rather than joining the earth-worshippers with their missals of *50 Simple Things You Can Do To Save the Earth*, I wanted to celebrate in my own way: by spritzing some hairspray at the sky (not having enough hair to justify pointing it at me), using a whole roll of paper towels, turning the refrigerator down, turning the heat up, switching on all the lights, mixing newspapers with my garbage, filling up my car at an Exxon station, and taking my daughter to McDonald's for cheeseburgers in those nice Styrofoam containers.

Unfortunately it wasn't cold enough to wear my fur hat, just in case I ran into any a pack of animal rightsers. **- L.H.R., Jr.**

Race-o-mania

Amidst all the media mania around the case of Boston's Charles Stuart, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and other moral leaders give us the impression that Stuart's real crime was racism.

Stuart, the white degenerate who murdered his wife and unborn child, had tried to force her to have an abortion. When she refused, he did it for her with a bullet to the head, faking the crime as a robbery-murder by an unknown black man.

Stuart was upset that his wife—a lawyer—would not abandon their baby to a daycare center and insisted instead on being a mother. He told her that his $100,000 income alone would not support their lifestyle (which, we now know, included an expensive mistress), to no avail. So he killed her.

When the State abolishes the right of free association, it creates discord.

Stuart then told the police, in an elaborate and believeable scam that involved shooting himself in the stomach, that a black man had committed the crime, which had taken place in a black section of the city.

We're told that the Boston police were "racist" for believing him, but why? FBI statistics show that the vast majority of interracial crime is black on white, and that the great preponderance of street criminals are young black males.

How can the police be criticized for arresting William Bennett, a young black male with a long criminal record who fitted Stuart's description, and who—moreover—had boasted, to the applause of his neighbors, that he was the killer? (A related question: in what kind of community can one win social approbation through such claims?)

We're told that it was racist for the police to sweep into the black area where the crime took place, and that they would do no such thing in a white area. But the white working-class areas of New York's Bensonhurst and Howard Beach were both subjected to massive police raids because an amazing rarity took place in each: white on black street crime.

The media treatment of the Stuart case was designed to make white Americans feel guilty for their "racism." But what exactly is "racism"? It may be scientifically false to believe, for example, that Asians are more intelligent than whites, but can it really be sinful?

It is wrong to treat someone uncharitably because of his race. It is also wrong to treat someone uncharitably because of his weight. But can it really be sinful to prefer the company of the fat or the skinny?

Wishing to associate with members of one's own race, nationality, religion, class, sex, or even political party seems a natural and legitimate human impulse. Free societies have typically had male organizations, Polish parishes, black neighborhoods, Christian charities, Jewish country clubs, and white fraternities.

When the State abolishes the right of free association, it creates not social peace but discord. Can it be any coincidence that real racial hatreds have grown exponentially as the State has intervened in this area?

Racism as a moral transgression is hatred of the members of a race and the wish to do them harm because they are members of it. It is not the assumption that a robbery and shooting in a black underclass area was probably committed by a black. The big news story is that it was not.

A white social worker in Washington, D.C., told me that "blacks are raised to hate whites, and to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

see everything through the lense of race. Sometimes when I win the trust of a black child, he will tell me: 'You're not white,' meaning I don't fit the racist stereotype drummed into his head by friends and relatives."

Jesse Jackson, unlike the Boston police, really is a racist. Yet he is able to portray any white who doesn't agree with his welfarist agenda (personal or governmental), or who opposes any of his actions as the hustling that it is, as a racist.

If there was anything good in the civil rights movement, it was the idea—discarded early on—that public policy should be color-blind. But it is ridiculous to say that individuals should be color blind, any more than we should be ethnicity blind.

God created different races and peoples for a purpose. It can be no sin to be aware of that, nor to believe that each group can have its own strengths and weaknesses, so long as we treat each individual as an individual.

Jesse Jackson claims it is a "theological sin to see any difference" between the races, a strange statement for a man who makes his living as a professional African-American. In fact, it is only white people who are not supposed to see any difference. Despite the unremitting liberal propaganda from the press and the pulpit, no one should feel any compunction about disagreeing.

- L.H.R., Jr.

Blowing Smoke

In 1604, James I of England ordered his subjects to stop using tobacco, "the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless." Other anti-smoking politicians have tried whippings in Russia, nose-slittings in India, and beheadings in Turkey. One anti-smoking sultan roamed the streets of Istanbul in disguise and beheaded any tobacco seller he found. Even our California fanatics wouldn't go that far. I don't think.

Massachusetts outlawed the sale of tobacco in the 1630s, and in the 1640s, Connecticut banned public smoking and ordered private smokers to get a license. These measures failed, just as Turkish capital punishment had. It was more than 150 years, points out Gordon L. Dillow in *American Heritage*, before the anti-smoking movement revived.

All during the 19th century, what were called anti-smoking "agitations" increased. Eugenicist Orson Fowler even condemned it as an aphrodisiac, and warned that those who "would be pure in your love-instinct" should "cast this sensualizing fire from you."

In 1884, *The New York Times* said that "the decadence of Spain began when the Spaniards adopted cigarettes." With Americans using them, "the ruin of the Republic is close at hand."

Tobacco was accused, notes Dillow, of causing color blindness, weak eyesight, baldness, stunted growth, insanity, sterility, drunkenness, impotence, sexual promiscuity, mustaches on women, and constipation.

In 1893, New York Schools Commissioner Charles Hubbell said that "many and many a bright lad has had his will power weakened, his moral principle sapped, his nervous system wrecked, and his whole life spoiled before he is seventeen years old by the detestable cigarette. The 'cigarette fiend' in time becomes a liar and a thief. He will commit petty thefts to get money to feed his insatiable appetite for nicotine. He lies to his parents, his teachers, and his best friends. He neglects his studies and, narcotized by nicotine, sits at his desk half stupefied, his desire for work, his ambition, dulled if not dead."

By 1909, with the help of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the National Anti-Cigarette League succeeded in outlawing smoking in North Dakota, Iowa, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Arkansas, Illinois, Kansas, Washington, South Dakota, and Minnesota. New York City outlawed smoking by women, and 29-year- old Katie Mulcahey was jailed for lighting up in front of a policeman and telling him: "No man shall dictate to me."

When drinking was outlawed, evangelist Billy Sunday said: "Prohibition is won; now for tobacco." The Presbyterian, Northern Baptist, and Methodist churches called for tobacco prohibition, but amidst growing public dismay about the effects of alcohol prohibition, they failed to win many more converts.

A popular song seemed to sum it all up:

Tobacco is a dirty weed. I like it.
It satisfies no normal need. I like it.
It makes you thin, it makes you lean,
It takes the hair right off your bean.
It's the worst darn stuff I've ever seen. I like it.

Gradually the states repealed their anti-tobacco laws. Kansas's was the last to go in 1927.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In California today, not only do we have hectoring state anti-drinking signs in our restaurants, we are subjected to an expensive and intrusive state advertising campaign against smoking.

The anti-smoketeers were bolstered in the last decade by the Ruritanian admiral with the 1,000-mile stare, Dr. C. Everett Koop. As Surgeon General, he preached about the dangers of "second-hand" smoke. But where was the evidence?

An American Cancer Society study of 180,000 American women has not detected *any* increased risk to non-smoking wives of heavy smokers. And a Yale Medical School study showed that tobacco smoke in the air very slightly *improved* the breathing ability of asthmatics!

But none of this matters. Our health fascists are obsessed by the idea that someone, somewhere, might be enjoying a smoke or a drink. Therefore their $28.6 million government ad campaign.

I find the notion of state behavioral advertising chilling. (Although I wouldn't mind trying anti-bribe ads in Sacramento.)

No one was supposed to be persuaded by the slogans that used to festoon Moscow: "Glory to the Communist Party," "Toil for the Motherland," etc. They were there to demoralize the opposition. So it is in California.

With newspaper, TV, and radio ads, the state department of health services says it will "change the image" of smoking from "sexy, glamorous, youthful" to "dumb, dirty, dangerous." While I don't know anyone who thinks smoking is the former, the latter sounds like a great description of the California government.

At least the tobacco industry works through persuasion. The state of California gets its money, and its way, at the point of a gun. Give me Virginia Slims over the tax man any day.

- L.H.R., Jr.

I'm Sick of AIDS

George Bush wants civil rights for AIDS carriers. "We won't tolerate discrimination," the president told the National Leadership Coalition on AIDS. We must make it illegal to "fire" or "evict" AIDS carriers, or "cancel their insurance."

I'm old enough to remember when discrimination meant discernment, sagacity, perception. Today it means seeing through the government-generated smokescreen.

In the traditional American view, there are only individual rights—not black rights, not women's rights, not gay rights, and not AIDS rights. But these days, "civil rights" invariably means an unlimited claim on the lives and money of other people. AIDS is no exception.

The drive to make insurance companies issue policies to known AIDS carriers violates the rights of other customers and of the companies themselves. It attacks the very principle of insurance, as if companies were compelled to issue termite policies to people whose homes were crumbling. Insurance is not welfare, or at least it is not supposed to be.

The Bush budget's $3.5 billion for the AIDS division of the medical-industrial complex is welfare, however. Worse is the Bush-approved Americans With Disabilities Act, which would make it illegal for a restaurant manager to fire a food handler with a fatal, communicable disease. For that is what AIDS is.

In San Francisco, it's now illegal to employ someone with infectious hepatitis in a hotel kitchen, and illegal to fire someone with AIDS. President Bush would extend this same principle all across America.

HHS's Center for Disease Control claims that "casual contact" can't spread AIDS, but if the federal government had a Pinnochio nose, NASA could walk it to Mars. Americans may be forgiven for doubting federal pronouncements in this and all other areas.

One of the few things we know for sure about AIDS is that AIDS-infected blood kills. That's why parents are right to worry about AIDS carriers in school. With kids, skinned knees and elbows, and bites, are the norm. AIDS can turn such everyday childhood mishaps into death sentences.

If a family doesn't want to rent a room to an AIDS carrier, or a businessman doesn't want to endanger his other employees, or a restaurant owner puts his customers first, or a mother is worried about her children, we're supposed to think it reprehensible. But why?

Since we know that AIDS dementia syndrome affects the brain long before other symptoms appear, employers especially may be excused for not wanting HIV-positives making decisions. Their judgment just can't be trusted. In fact, this dementia may explain AIDS-rights groups like ACT-UP. They not only act and look crazy, they are crazy. And so are we, if we base public policy on their demands.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AIDS is a *fatal, communicable disease*. Even the Bush administration isn't seeking civil rights for Typhoid Mary, but we're supposed to hug AIDS Eddie and invite him into our home, school, and business. Or be jailed.

I'm sick of AIDS, even though that's not a politically popular view right now. Say, is that the siren of the Hate Crimes Squad I hear in the distance?

- L.H.R., Jr.

The Real Lesson of Ryan White

by the Old Curmudgeon

Everyone is weeping about the death of Ryan White, and pointing to the "great lesson" of his experience. But why is he being singled out for special attention among all those who have died of AIDS? And what exactly is the "lesson" we are to learn?

The general view holds the lesson to be how wonderful it is that Ryan White was able to overcome the prejudice of the community and to force his way into public school. But the point of school is supposed to be preparation for adult life, and what is the point of his going to school when it was inevitable that his life would be snuffed out long before adulthood.

The real lesson of Ryan White, and his uniqueness, is very different. A hemophiliac, White was given AIDS six years ago by a blood transfusion. The real lesson of the case of Ryan White, in short, is that he was murdered by the medical profession, the profession that prescribed and administered the transfusion, yet this murder has not been highlighted and the perpetrators have neither been identified nor brought to justice.

The blood supply is dangerous.

Sure, the medical profession will claim that these bad old slip-ups have *now* been corrected and the current blood supply is absolutely safe. Don't believe it; that's what guilty bureaucrats *always* say. If anyone needs a blood transfusion, he should make sure to get it from friends and relatives, from people he trusts ..... personally.

M.N.R.

Secession!

"Save your Confederate money, boys," goes the old saw, "the South will rise again!" Only it's no joke. A Confederate note is today worth a good deal more than a Federal Reserve note. In fact, it may not be a joke in any sense, as the principle of secession once again sweeps the globe.

The idea that people of a shared culture and history ought to be able to have their own country has always seemed reasonable—except to imperial governments.

Of course, Lithuania ought to be independent of Moscow, and Latvia and Estonia too. But why stop there? The Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia—all the captive nations of the U.S.S.R. have the right to be free.

Rothbard-Rockwell Report

Center for Libertarian Studies, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011

___Sign me up for the RRR! Enclosed is my check for $49 for 12 issues, $95 for 24 issues, or $139 for 36 issues. **Call 1-800-325-7257 to charge to your credit card.**

please print

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____STATE_____ZIP_____

Gift Subscriptions

___Please send the RRR with a gift card from me to the people whose names and addresses I have listed on a separate sheet of paper. I enclose my check for $49 each.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If the Soviet Union is de-unionized, it will even benefit the Russian Republic. Colonialism is no economic boon to the average Russian, any more than it was to the average Briton.

In Canada, there's political wailing over the possibility of an independent Quebec, but why? English Canada would be a more cohesive country, and the French would be freed from the discrimination they have historically suffered, and are now in turn inflicting on English-speakers.

Many Western and Maritime Canadians like the idea of a split, as do many Quebecers. Opposition is naturally centered in Ottawa, since the national government would lose money and power.

Sub-Saharan Africa has colonially drawn boundaries which ignore the tribes to which almost everyone gives his first loyalty. Nelson Mandela, for example, represents the Xhosa tribe, and it is the Xhosas and their dependent tribes that support him. The other great tribe of South Africa, the Zulus, do not.

No unitary state—let alone one-man, one-vote, one-time—can protect everyone's rights in this situation. That's why the idea of a Swiss-style confederation, promoted by South African libertarians, makes so much sense. Even better would be secession.

In Eastern Europe, the historically abused Hungarian minority in Romania deserves to be reunited with their compatriots, as do the persecuted Moldavians of the U.S.S.R., who are in fact Romanians.

Yugoslavia will never be a stable system. Why not an independent Croatia and Serbia and Slovenia? And why should the Albanians of Kosovo not be reunited with their countrymen in a new and free Albanian Republic?

The East Germans have the right to be reunited with their brothers in the West, as do—by the way—the Germans of Austria. And why is Helmut Kohl considered a monster for not closing off, by fiat, any discussion of the German lands and people now occupied by Poland, courtesy of Stalin? The Middle East, too, will never be peaceful until the Palestinians have their own country.

Against "the princely principle of subjecting just as much land as obtainable to one's own rule," Ludwig von Mises advanced a "doctrine of freedom," which he believed followed necessarily from human rights: "No people and no part of a people shall be held against its will in a political association it does not want."

Mises wrote that more than 70 years ago in *Nation, State, and Economy*. How much horror would the world have been spared had this principle been applied. And how much future trouble will be avoided if it is applied today.

As for the U.S., as the federal government gets more oppressive and expensive, Americans may look back to the California Bear Flag Republic, the Republic of Texas, and the Confederate States of America. Once I saw a bumper sticker on a pick-up truck in Houston that read: "U.S. Out of Texas!"

If we can't take a chainsaw to Washington, D.C., the South may indeed rise again. And the West too.

- L.H.R., Jr.

Rothbard-Rockwell Report
Center for Libertarian Studies
P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011

The Rothbard-Rockwell Report is published by the Center for Libertarian Studies, Post Office Box 4091, Burlingame, California 94011. (415) 342-6569. *Editors*: Murray N. Rothbard and Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. *Contributing Editor*: Sarah Barton. *Publisher*: Burton S. Blumert. Subscription: $49 for 12 issues. Copyright ©1990 by the Center for Libertarian Studies. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED